

## Message Text

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ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-15

USIA-15 ACDA-19 IO-13 AID-20 OMB-01 DRC-01 /146 W

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R 191826Z SEP 73

FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9723

INFO AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO

AMCONSUL SAO PAULO

AMCONSUL RECIFE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BRASILIA 6077

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PGOV, BR

SUBJ: ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT-DESIGNATE GEISEL

REF: BRASILIA 6049

SUMMARY: IN FIRST PUBLIC APPEARANCE SINCE DESIGNATION AS  
SUCCESSOR TO MEDICI, GEISEL ADDRESSED CONVENTION OF  
GOVERNMENT ARENA PARTY SEPTEMBER 15. PERHAPS AS COUNTER  
TO EUPHORIA WHICH ACCOMPANIED HIS DESIGNATION AND CONSTANT  
SPECULATION IN PRESS AND AMONG POLITICIANS ABOUT POLICIES TO  
BE EXPECTED HIS REGIME, GEISEL LIMITED REMARKS TO SOBER  
STATEMENT "PHILOSOPHY" OF GOVERNMENT; HE LEANED HEAVILY  
UPON "REVOLUTIONARY DOCTRINE OF DEVELOPMENT AND SECURITY"  
AND MADE CLEAR THAT "CONTINUITY" WOULD BE HALLMARK HIS  
GOVERNMENT. THIS BALANCED, HOWEVER, BY EMPHASIS GIVEN TO  
"DEVELOPMENT" THEME AND BY MENTION OF "ESSENTIAL" ROLE  
POLITICAL PARTIES. SPEECH BROKE NO NEW GROUND; WHILE GEISEL  
ADMITTED POSSIBILITY OF CHANGES THROUGH "NATURAL DEVELOPMENT"  
HE MADE CLEAR THAT "NORMALIZATION" NOT YET IN VIEW.

1. GEISEL STATED AT OUTSET OF SPEECH THAT PRESENTATION OF  
GOVERNMENT PROGRAM-EVEN IN OUTLINE-WOULD BE PREMATURE.  
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BUT HE DID STATE

"PHILOSOPHY OF GOVERNMENT". FROM WHICH PROGRAM WOULD "DRAW ITS INSPIRATION." THIS PHILOSOPHY BASED ON DOCTRINE OF "DEVELOPMENT AND SECURITY" AS ESTABLISHED BY REVOLUTION OF 1964. HE THEN DEFINED RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THESE TWO THEMES: SECURITY IS "CAPACITY OF A PEOPLE JOIN TOGETHER AGAINST ANTAGONISTIC FORCES WHICH BLOCK PATH TO DEVELOPMENT, WELL-BEING AND GREATNESS." WHILE DEVELOPMENT CANNOT TAKE PLACE WITHOUT SECURITY, SECURITY NOT POSSIBLE WITHOUT SOME DEGREE OF DEVELOPMENT. DEVELOPMENT IS "UNARGUABLY" MORE IMPORTANT OF TWO; SECURITY IS SIMPLY PREREQUISITE FOR DEVELOPMENT. HOWEVER, SECURITY CAN, "IN MOMENT OF CRISIS, ASSUME TRANSITORY POSITION OF PREDOMINANCE." EMPHASIS, HE CONTINUED, BELONGS TO NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, ESPECIALLY FOR THE INDIVIDUAL "IN SYMBIOTIC SOCIAL CONTEXT."

2. GEISEL STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF APPLYING "METHODOLOGY OF RATIONALISM" TO MANAGEMENT OF GOVERNMENT, INVOLVING TECHNICIANS AS WELL AS POLITICIANS IN GOVERNING PROCESS. WITH THIS IN MIND, HE STATED HIS "BASIC INTENTION OF ASSURING BEST CONTINUITY OF ACTION" ALONG BROAD LINES OF THREE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATIONS. REFERRING TO COMPLETION DURING FIRST YEAR HIS ADMINISTRATION OF ONGOING FIRST NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN, GEISEL AGAIN STRESSED THEME OF CONTINUITY. BUT SECOND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN, WHICH HE WILL SUBMIT TO LEGISLATURE IN "FIRST MONTHS NEW ADMINISTRATION"... "WILL SURELY INCLUDE INNOVATIONS..MADE POSSIBLE BY EVOLUTION." HE WARNED THAT SUCCESS IN MEETING NATIONAL GOALS WOULD BRING "NEW PROBLEMS...SOMETIMES WORSE THAN THOSE THAT WENT BEFORE."

3. TURNING TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS, HE PLEDGED THAT, THOUGH BRAZIL WILL "INEVITABLY ENCOUNTER MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND DISTRUST ON ITS UPWARD MARCH," SHE WOULD SPEAK WITH "SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY OF A GREAT ADULT NATIONS." HE DESCRIBED "PERPLEXED AND RESTLESS WORLD" AS UNDERGOING "CRITICAL REALIGNMENT" TOWARD MULTI-POLAR BALANCE OF POWERS WHILE FACING "BI-POLAR THREAT OF NUCLEAR TERROR." AT SAME TIME, EMERGENCE OF MULTI-NATIONAL CORPORATIONS BRINGS INTO PLAY NEW ELEMENT "WHOSE POTENTIAL FOR GOOD, OR PERHAPS FOR EVIL,

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CANNOT YET BE CLEARLY SEEN". FOREGOING ARE REASONS WHY "SECURITY IS AND WILL BE, PERHAPS ON LARGER SCALE, AN ESSENTIAL CONDITION OF DEVELOPMENT OF NATION, WITH BOTH SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT GIVING FOUNDATION FOR RESPONSIBLE FOREIGN POLICY."

4. RETURNING TO INTERNAL AFFIARS, GEISEL CAUTIONED THAT "PROGRESS AWAKENS LIVELY EXPECTATIONS". WHICH "NORMALLY

FALL WELL OUTSIDE IMMEDIATE POSSIBILITIES OF SATISFYING THEM." HIS GOVERNMENT WILL BE ALERT TO PREVENT "FRAUDULENT EXPLOITATION" THESE EXPECTATIONS "BY THOSE WHO INTEND SUBVERT OUR INSTITUTIONS". DEVELOPMENT WILL TAKE PLACE WITHIN "BOUNDS OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM" WHICH INCLUDES "CONSIDERATION OF ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLE IN GENERAL" AS OPPOSED TO PRESSURE GROUPS; "REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT, WITH A MULTI-PARTY ORGANIZATION; AND PERIODIC REPLACEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC." ALTHOUGH THIS SYSTEM SUBJECT TO "NATURAL DEVELOPMENT", IT NECESSARY "AVOID MERE FORMALISM, PREVENT RETURN TO CONDEMNED PAST AND NOT ABDICATE POWERS CONFERRED UPON GOVERNMENT AS LONG AS THEY ESSENTIAL TO ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SECURITY BRAZILIAN PEOPLE". ANY CHANGE MUST REFLECT "POLITICAL WILL OF NATION WHOSE PRIMARY INTEREST IS THAT CLIMATE OF TRANQUILITY NOT BE BROKEN".

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5. POLITICAL PARTIES ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR GIVING "SOUND POLITICAL MOTIVATION" TO THE PEOPLE. PARTIES ARE "ESSENTIAL TO STYLE OF DEMOCRATIC LIFE AS EXCLUSIVE VEHICLES FOR PARTICIPATION OF THE PEOPLE IN GOVERNMENT," AND MUST "CONTRIBUTE DECISIVELY TO PERFECTING OF NATIONAL POLITICAL STRUCTURE."

6. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH MANY OF OUR BRAZILIAN CONTACTS

THOUGHT GEISEL SPEECH MERELY PRO-FORMA EXERCISE, SEVERAL OTHERS POINTED OUT AREAS THEY DEEMED SIGNIFICANT. TRADITIONAL POLITICIANS REACTED WITH SIGH OF RELIEF AT RELATIVELY STRONG EMPHASIS IN SPEECH ON IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUATION OF PARTY STRUCTURE, AND IMPLICATION THOUGHOUT SPEECH THAT POLITICAL EVOLUTION NOT COMPLETELY FORECLOSED. ALTHOUGH SOME SOURCES CLAIMED TO FIND SUBTLE MESSAGES IN READING BETWEEN LINES OF SPEECH, ONE WELL-CONNECTED JOURNALIST (CASTELLO-BRANCO, JORNAL DO BRAZIL) WRITES THAT HE ACCEPTS THE ADVICE OF A "PROBABLY AUTHORITATIVE SOURCE" TO READ ONLY THE LINES THEMSELVES.

7. IT SHOULD BE RECALLED THAT BOTH TIMING AND PROTOCOL PLACED RESTRAINTS UPON WHAT GEISEL COULD SAY AND THAT NO ONE, INCLUDING EMBASSY EXPECTED EARTH-SHAKING NEWS FROM SPEECH.  
IT IS OBVIOUS THAT GEISEL'S DECISION WAS TO LIMIT CONTENT OF CONFIDENTIAL

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SPEECH TO MINIMUM POSSIBLE EXPOSURE OF HIS INTENTIONS. AS RESPECTED DAILY ESTADO DE SAO PAULO DESCRIBED IT, SPEECH "WASN'T MUCH BUT IT WAS SOMETHING". DEPUTY JOAO MENEZES (MDB, PARA) PUT THE MATTER MORE TRENCHANTLY TO EMBASSY OFFICER WHEN, IN DESCRIBING SPEECH, HE EMPLOYED POPULAR BRAZILIAN VULGARISM "IT NEITHER STINKS NOR SMELLS" (NEM FEDE NEM CHEIRA) IMPLYING IT HAD NOT OFFENDED ANYONE AND ADDING THAT SPEECH HAD BEEN "ARID OF CONTENT".

8. DEPUTY MURILO BADARO (ARENA, MINAS GERAIS) VICE-LEADER OF ARENA ON OTHER HAND INSISTED THAT CONGRESS AND CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP WERE GENERALLY SATISFIED WITH SPEECH. HE SAW EMPHASIS ON "DEVELOPMENT FOR MAN AND FOR HIS SOCIAL GROUP..." AS IMPLYING SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AS WELL AS, OF COURSE, DEMOCRACY. BADARO CLAIMED THAT GEISEL'S REMARKS ON "PERFECTING THE SYSTEM". IN WHICH HE STATED "CHANGES MUST BE REALISTIC AND IMELY, WITH PRIVILEGES THAT MUST BE ACCCOMPANIED BY EFFECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY"... GAVE HOPE OF A GRADUAL POLITICAL EVOLUTION AND REFLECTED GEISEL'S ESSENTIALLY "NEUTRAL" ATTITUDE ON THIS DELICATE ISSUE.

9. BRAZILIAN CONGRESS ALSO HAS ITS GAME PLAYERS.  
CONGRESSIONAL PRESIDENT FALVIO MARCILIO TOLD EMBASSY OFFICER BEFORE SPEECH THAT "HIGH LEVEL GEISEL EMISSARY" HAD INFORMED HIM THAT HE SHOULD NOT EXPECT ANY CHANGES FROM GEISEL. AS A RESULT, ON HIS OWN INTIATIVE, HE HAD MADE PUBLIC STATEMENTS UPHOLDING THE ROLE OF THE LEGISLATURE AND CALLING FOR INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF AI-5 (AIRGRAM FOLLOWS) IN ORDER TO "STEP ON THE TOES OF THE GENERALS." WE BELIEVE SIMILAR RECENT REMARKS BY SENATOR CARVALHO PINTO (ARENA, SAO PAULO) AND

SENATOR JOSE SARNEY (ARENA, MARANHAO) HAD SAME PURPOSE.  
CRIMMINS

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